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MEXICAN AMERICAN CATHOLICISM IN THE SOUTHWEST: THE TRANSFORMATION OF A POPULAR RELIGION

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Introduction

This essay is part of a larger research project that seeks to understand symbols as sources of power and empowerment for powerless and disenfranchised communities. It focuses primarily on religious symbolism representative of the Mexican American Roman Catholic community in the United States. The study suggests that such symbols are part of a larger economic, political, ethnic, linguistic and social reality that can serve to form and mobilize such communities. Past research by the author has established that religious symbols, beliefs and practices, and, in a larger sense, the interpretation of what is considered sacred, emerge out of specific racial/ethnic traditions. These traditions represent the source of intergroup conflict, as diverse groups mobilize to control symbolic resources, and mold "official" religious symbols, representative of religious institutions.¹

The purpose of this research is to trace the history of such conflict between Mexican American Catholics and the dominant Catholic hierarchy, and to assess its impact on Mexican American religiosity in the American Southwest. It is assumed that Mexican American Catholicism is molded and structured by history, and is best understood through an interpretive historical sociological analysis.² Mexican American religious symbolism, it is argued, is best described as "non-official" or "popular" religiosity³ that originated from within the laity, separate from the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, and remains outside the structures of institutional Catholicism. The marginalization of this religious form has been accentuated ever since the United States' occupation of the Southwest and the formal

establishment of the American Catholic Church. In sum, the marginalization of Mexican American Catholicism in contemporary society is the outcome of historical processes and relationships. What follows is a discussion of this transformation in Texas and New Mexico.

Transformation of Mexican Catholicism

The end of the Mexican-American War in 1848 brought with it major changes to Mexican Catholicism in what had been Mexico's northern frontier. Prior to the war, Mexican Catholicism was preserved by a popular and informal base, and reproduced without the imprint of the official Catholic hierarchy. For example, as early as the 18th century, *Los Hermanos Penitentes* (Confraternity of Our Father, Jesus the Nazarene) were vital for the maintenance of community unity in Northern New Mexico. They flourished in the early 19th century as a result of spiritual neglect by Catholic clergy.⁴ As a mutual-aid society, they functioned as a civil and ecclesiastical organization, leading the community in prayer, worship, and catechism. At the same time, they made sure everyone had the basics for a decent quality of life through collective irrigation and the harvesting of the lands.⁵ *La Hermandad* included an official *rezador* (prayer leader), and *cantor*, who led in song and public prayer at rosaries and wakes. They spiritually consoled and offered material aid for the dying and their families. This form of popular religion expressed the lifestyle, beliefs, and values that were interwoven with Mexican culture throughout the northern frontier. It was largely created in a Catholic atmosphere that lacked the presence of a religious clergy.

With the establishment of the American Catholic Church after 1848, this type of "self-reliant" religion⁶ was transformed from a popular to a marginal and deviant religious tradition, because ecclesiastical authority was now controlled and structured by a new European clergy. Whereas Mexican religiosity and the Spanish language were once considered normative dimensions of Catholicism along the northern frontier, they were now replaced by new languages and traditions in the new American Southwest. Traditional Mexican *peregrinaciones* (pilgrimages) and special religious days were forgotten or terminated and replaced with French, and later, Irish canons of institutional Catholicism. This new official Catholicism, imported by a foreign clergy, disrupted a "way of life" in Mexican communities

at both civil and religious levels throughout the Southwest. We turn first to an examination of Texas.

Texas

The French clergy was instrumental in restructuring the Catholic Church in South Texas. After the official signing of the Treaty of Velasco, declaring Texas independent from Mexico, the Republic of Texas was established in August of 1836. To determine if the ecclesiastical administration should remain in the hands of the Mexicans, the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Cardinals de Propaganda Fide, empowered Bishop Antonio Blanc of New Orleans to send delegates to inspect Texas in January of 1838. Father John Timon, rector and president of St. Mary of the Barrens College, along with a Spanish priest, were ordered on March 30 to go to Texas on a special ecclesiastical visit.⁷

Having visited only two Texas municipalities, Timon received word from San Antonian representatives (an area he had been dissuaded to visit) that religious instruction had been absent from their city for years. These representatives signed sworn affidavits about the laxity and religious neglect of Fathers Refugio de la Garza and José Antonio Valdez, priests at the Church of San Fernando.⁸ It was stated that these two prelates did not hear confessions, did not distribute communion, and did not attend to the dying. Timon referred to them as "two plagues who were destroying the region with their scandalous behavior," even though he had never met them.⁹

On July 18, 1840, the Republic of Texas was granted official recognition by the Vatican. Rome designated it a prefecture of the New Orleans diocese, with Father John Timon as its Prefect Apostolic of Texas. Bestowed with the power to act as bishop, he appointed Father Jean Marie Odin from New Orleans as his Vice-Prefect Apostolic.¹⁰ Soon after arriving in San Antonio in July of 1840, Odin decided to exercise his newly acquired power. On August 6, 1840, Odin's first official act as Vice-Prefect Apostolic was to remove de la Garza as pastor of San Fernando. Four days later he defrocked José Antonio Valdez.¹¹

The arrival of a European clergy in South Texas began to transform the "normative" religious structures as perceived by the Mexican/Mexican American community. Certain Oblate priests assigned to the

Texas valley harbored strong anti-Mexican sentiments that typified ethnocentric and racist views of the time. Father Florent Vandenberghe, a Frenchman who became Superior of the Oblate priests in 1874, for example, felt repugnance towards his new assignment. He would have preferred to receive a mission "amongst civilized people" in Northern Texas, or in Louisiana if the opportunity arose.¹² A more blatant hatred was expressed by Dominic Manucy, a clergyman of Italian and Spanish descent who, in 1874, was named Apostolic Vicar of Brownsville, Texas. Manucy made the following comment regarding his recent appointment:

I consider this appointment of Apostolic Vicar of Brownsville the worst sentence that could be given me for any crime. . . In the Brownsville district. . . the Catholics are exclusively greaser-Mexican-hunters and thieves. You cannot obtain money from these people, not even to bury their parents. . . .¹³

Manucy's perception of the "cheap" Mexican would remain with him throughout his tenure in the Valley of Texas¹⁴ and serve to rationalize the new "judgement" rendered upon Mexican Catholics by the French hierarchy.

Yet, as the institution sought to control and eventually routinize the sacred, the Mexican American community embraced a religiosity interlaced with their everyday life. Hence, popular religion played an important role in sustaining Mexican Catholics in South Texas, functioning as a strategy to cope with a foreign hierarchy that sought to discredit their religious world-view.¹⁵ It gave Mexicans a nominal allegiance to the new American Catholicism, and simultaneously provided them with the ". . . psychic margin to circumvent the proscriptions of institutional Catholicism."¹⁶ Furthermore, popular religion provided a sense of order and stability in an otherwise chaotic and senseless world. It also gave a voice to a unique type of Catholicism, set apart from the controls of the Catholic hierarchy. According to historian Arnolfo De León:

Autonomy rendered them the sense of security and strength to control their own privacy and reaffirm their cultural uniqueness and differences from Anglo Americans. Thus, religion was no small part of a cultural makeup that defined their identity as Texans.¹⁷

As in the Mexican Independence period, non-official dimensions of Mexican Catholicism were maintained because of a lack of native clergy.¹⁸ However, this time it was a French hierarchy that did not understand the importance of the native clergy to Mexican American communities in South Texas. For example, during the 1850s Bishop Odin chose to bring in Oblate priests from Canada for his diocese, instead of attempting to create a native clergy. Throughout the unstable history of the various seminaries in the Galveston dioceses, there appeared only one individual of Mexican descent who reached the novitiate, brother José Marie García. Unfortunately, García died of yellow fever in 1858.¹⁹

In summary, the Mexican religious experience in South Texas is characterized by beliefs and practices that were maintained and survived outside the institutional Catholic context. The Mexican Catholic laity constructed places for prayer close to the community. The use of *altarcitos*, (religious altars), and home devotions were common practices to keep the spirit of religion alive among a community without a clergy.²⁰ It was the job of parents and grandparents to inculcate and provide religious instruction to their children and grandchildren.²¹ José Roberto Juárez provides an interesting example of a self-described hierophant who guided the Mexican community in Sunday prayer, and presided in funeral services during the 1830s in Nacogdoches. On *días de fiesta*, this individual draped himself in an alb and chasuble and recreated his version of the mass in neighborhood *jacales* (modest homes).²²

It is important to underscore that the relationship between the French clergy and the Mexican laity was not always antagonistic. There exist historical examples of the clergy's support of Mexican religious practices in Texas.²³ However, history reveals that the French hierarchy made no attempt to understand and build its institution on the traditions initiated by Mexican Catholicism in Texas.²⁴ As the new institution of American Catholicism began to unfold in the American Southwest, Mexican Catholics found their "community of memory"²⁵ ignored, and absent from the institutional vision of the American Catholic Church.

New Mexico

The history of Mexican Catholicism in New Mexico is one of an ethnic community which is deeply rooted in its Indo-Hispano-Mexican religious traditions. As discussed above, religious traditions such as those of Los Hermanos Penitentes, firmly established their roots in Northern New Mexico. However, unlike the *Tejanos*, New Mexicans had adopted a strong religious identity and received dynamic leadership from a native clergy that included Padre Antonio José Martínez and Padre Mariano de Jesús Lucero. But with the arrival of French clergy after the Mexican-American War, New Mexican Catholics found themselves challenged and confronted by an insensitive, ethnocentric clergy led by Jean Baptiste Lamy.

On July 19, 1850, the Holy See of the Roman Catholic Church acted favorably on a request from the VII Council of Baltimore, and established the New Mexican Territory, which included present-day Arizona and Southern Colorado as a vicariate. Jean Baptiste Lamy, a recently ordained priest from France, was named Vicar Apostolic "*in partibus infidelium*" ("in the region of the infidels"), and sent from the Ohio Valley to take over the Santa Fe diocese. Within a short period, conflict erupted between Lamy and the native clergy. By the end of the conflict, five native priests were expelled by Lamy, the most famous being Padre Antonio José Martínez of Taos.

Padre Martínez is a major figure in New Mexican history. He was the scholastic father for native clergy, and highly influential among the citizenry of Taos. His life encompassed three distinct epochs of Mexican history. He was born on January 17, 1793, in Abiquiu when New Mexican property was under the control of the Spanish Crown. In 1822, Antonio Martínez was ordained a priest, one year after Mexican independence. The ideals of liberation offered by Mexico's first revolutionary hero, Padre José Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, deeply influenced the life of Padre Martínez, and his views on civil and ecclesiastical authority.²⁶

In 1826, Padre Martínez was assigned the pastorship of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in Taos, New Mexico. Soon after, he created schools for children at the Indian pueblos, and the nearby Hispano villages. By 1834, Padre Martínez had established a "preparatory seminary" out of which 16 native priests were ordained. In 1835, he began to publish books and newspapers with the first manual press

(*imprensa manualita*) west of the Mississippi.²⁷ In 1846, Padre Martínez, now 53, experienced the cession of New Mexico to the United States. Conflict between the native priest and the new French bishop ensued, and the accomplishments of Padre Martínez were soon forgotten.

On January 1, 1853, Bishop Lamy wrote his first pastoral letter to the laity. It introduced new rules for re-instituting tithing, something banned in Mexico by the Law of San Felipe in 1833. Lamy ordered sanctions for those who did not comply. The pastoral letter stated:

. . .if anyone persisted in ignoring the obligation he would 'with great pain and regret' deny him the sacraments and such a person would be considered outside the fold.²⁸

From Lamy's perspective, a good flock was one that remained, ". . . devoted to right order and legitimate authority,"²⁹ and hence, the mark of a "successful" church was one that adopted the official practice of tithing.

However, for Padre Martínez, tithing was considered a burden for the laity. He had consistently opposed inflexible taxation because of the burden it placed on the poor.³⁰ As a young priest, he was at the forefront of abolishing church tithing imposed by Mexican civil law in 1833.³¹ In a local newspaper, Padre Martínez expressed his opposition to Lamy's recently imposed sanctions. For Bishop Lamy, Martínez's actions were interpreted as a boycott to force him out of the diocese.

Lamy retaliated with a more severe church policy. In a second pastoral letter issued on January 14, 1854, Bishop Lamy incorporated church dogma on the Immaculate Conception to underscore the importance of tithes and the consequences for those who failed to comply:

Any family which does not fulfill the fifth precept of the Church (to support the church materially) will not have the right to receive the holy sacraments. Let us again inform you that we consider those as not belonging to the Church who do not observe this precept; and we like-wise would take away all faculties to say Mass and administer the sacraments from all pastors who fail to sustain and provide for the maintenance of religion and its ministers. . . .³²

Church fees related to services provided by the church were as follows: marriages, eight dollars; burials, six dollars; burial of a child under seven years of age, two dollars; and baptisms, one dollar. The bishop did allow for "those of meager resources" to pay only one-half of these fees.³³ Such church fees were a major burden for a community dependent on a barter economy. A wage economy did not exist in the area until the 1870s, when the railroad arrived in Southern Colorado.³⁴

On May 5, 1856, a Basque priest by the name of Damasio Taladrid was named to replace Padre Martínez, who had written to Lamy indicating his desire to retire. Unfortunately, the relationship between Taladrid and Martínez proved confrontational. On July 23, 1856, Taladrid reported to Lamy that Padre Martínez was working on an article for the *Gaceta*, a local newspaper, and was often seen together with his friend Padre Lucero of Arroyo Hondo. When an article calling for the abolition of tithes appeared in the *Gaceta* on September 3, Padre Lucero was suspended by Bishop Lamy on the grounds that he had close associations with Martínez.³⁵

On October 23, Taladrid informed Bishop Lamy that Martínez was celebrating Mass in his private oratory, and was taking over some parish functions. The following day Lamy suspended Padre Martínez. Lamy deprived him of canonical faculties because Martínez had celebrated Mass in the oratory. His suspension would remain in effect until he retracted his article from the *Gaceta*.

As a person who had studied canon and civil law extensively, Martínez protested these actions. On November 12, 1856, he wrote to Lamy, arguing at length that his suspension was null and void as prescribed by canon law. He stated that his publication of letters on the matter of tithes were protected by guarantees of "republican free speech." He stated:

I beg your excellency to respect my viewpoint for what I am about to say. . .The diocesan statutes invite the faithful to enter into mercantile agreements making the parish priests appear like hucksters or traders. They also make the sacraments, Masses, and other spiritual gifts as so much merchandise in a warehouse by order of Your Excellence. . .Compare this way of acting with the account of Simon Magus in the Acts of the Apostles. . .³⁶

This, plus five additional pleas, were ignored by Lamy. In June of 1857, formal excommunication procedures against Padre Martínez were set in motion. A native Mexican priest, Eulogio Ortiz was sent to Taos to replace Taladrid.³⁷ Within five months, Padre Antonio José Martínez was formally excommunicated by the Santa Fe diocese.

The salient issue in the Lamy-Martínez conflict revolves around differences in religious expression and interpretation. History reveals that Lamy was prejudiced and biased against New Mexican Catholicism prior to setting foot on New Mexican soil.³⁸ In 1851, en route to New Mexico from Ohio, Lamy traveled by way of New Orleans and Galveston. French bishop Jean Marie Odin, head of the Galveston Vicariate, did not hesitate to offer his interpretation of the native people and clergy of New Mexico.

He warned Lamy that it would be a mistake to go to Santa Fe without the support of six to a dozen zealous and entirely devoted newly imported priests.³⁹ According to Odin, Lamy would encounter:

. . . Scandalous native clergy, and a public, especially among the Anglo Americans, who were waiting for reforms with the arrival of the new bishop. What could Lamy do alone and without support? If he should have occasion to banish a recalcitrant priest, without having someone to replace him, might not the people protest and perhaps insist on keeping the excommunicated priest in defiance of their bishop?⁴⁰

Bishop Odin continued to counsel Lamy, advising him to go immediately to France, instead of New Mexico, and recruit a number of priests. While in France, he could better prepare himself in the Spanish language, and procure new vestments to replace the old rubbish he would encounter in all the New Mexican churches.⁴¹

Even though Lamy proceeded with his travel west, it is clear that Odin biased Lamy, who had not set eyes on the people of New Mexico. Recall that Odin's first assignment as Vice-Prefect Apostolic of Texas was to remove the two remaining Mexican priests. By 1868, Lamy boasted in letters back to his home province of Auvergne, that he had created a "little Auvergne" in New Mexico. By this date, Lamy's two assistants and three fourths of his priests were natives of Auvergne.⁴²

As an area with deeply rooted religious traditions, New Mexico presents a history of conflict between a native and foreign clergy that

adversely affected the native people of New Mexico. Unlike Texas, New Mexico had a firmly established religious community with leaders who challenged and confronted the new religious system imposed upon them by a European clergy. However, like their Texan counterparts, Mexican Catholics in New Mexico found themselves marginalized and segmented from the new American Church. The Penitentes, for example, maintained the stronghold of traditional Mexican Catholicism in Northern New Mexico during the 19th century. As one who clearly disapproved of Penitente religious practices, Lamy sought to control and redefine their traditions. Lamy instituted the practice of verification before administering the sacraments in order to stop Penitentes from receiving communion unless they renounced their membership in the brotherhood.⁴³ La Hermanidad was driven into a position of protest and self-defense that profoundly affected their collective expressions as a civil and ecclesiastical organization.⁴⁴

Analysis

The transformation of Mexican American Catholicism in the American Southwest is best understood from a historical and sociological perspective that is sensitive to the popular, non-official elements of Mexican American religiosity. What emerges is a self-reliant religious tradition, representative of an integrative world-view of a specific ethnic group, which, with the incorporation of the American Southwest, comes into conflict with a "legitimate," and ethnically-distinct clergy. Mexican American Catholics become unorthodox Catholics, "...uninstructed in the faith and deficient in their adherence to the general norms of church practices,"⁴⁵ transforming their religion from a popular to a marginal tradition. Accordingly, a historical analysis establishes the patterns and structures of Mexican American Catholicism by which its sociological significance can be interpreted.

For example, the transformation of Mexican Catholicism in the history of the American Southwest helps address the "problems" of leadership formation and collective action in the Mexican American community. The change, from a popular to a marginal belief system, has brought forth a group of believers who have few, if any, leadership roles within the American Catholic Church. For the most part, they have remained inactive within the formal structures of the

institution because of the neglect and misunderstanding of the hierarchy.⁴⁶ Whereas other disenfranchised groups like African Americans have developed social movements and leaders through their religious structures and traditions,⁴⁷ Mexican American Catholics have been discouraged from taking an active leadership role in their church and community. In fact, there are numerous examples in the history of the Chicano Movement where the American Catholic hierarchy has been diametrically opposed to collective action for economic and political change in the Mexican American community. Consider that the Roman Catholic hierarchy did not collectively support César Chávez and the United Farm Workers until eight years into the movement. This despite the fact that official Roman Catholic teachings in the *Rerum Novarum* supported a workers right to unionize in the 19th century. In 1973, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops presented a farm labor resolution stating their support for free and secret ballot elections.⁴⁸

On the other hand, what becomes very apparent in examining the history of Mexican and Mexican American religiosity in the Southwest, are the collective forces at work in its popular, non-official beliefs and practices. Mexican American popular religion emerges out of an economic, political, linguistic, and cultural reality that is representative of the everyday life experiences of a people. Hence, in the history of Mexican Americans, popular religion has functioned to establish and provide community, and create collective action as people coalesce around religious symbols that possess no institutional imprint. Throughout history, the American Catholic hierarchy has not recognized this important contribution.

From a methodological standpoint, more historical research is needed to capture the informal structure provided by popular religion utilized by Mexican Americans and other disenfranchised groups in the United States.⁴⁹ The religious symbols, beliefs and practices used by powerless communities to mobilize change need to be documented. Additional research, for example, on the histories of the Black church, ghost dance religions, and popular religious expressions in the United Farm Workers movement, is needed to identify the empowering elements of religion for these groups.⁵⁰ Yet such an approach cannot rely solely on secondary documents. Rather, it requires a methodological approach that will incorporate primary historical documents and oral histories in order to discover the actual

experiences of Mexican and Mexican American religiosity. Feminist scholarship, for example, has enhanced our understanding of the Latina religious experience from this perspective.⁵¹ Since Mexican religiosity originated outside the canons of Roman Catholicism, one need not begin an analysis from a structural perspective, but instead, from the everyday life experiences of the community. This will help us rediscover and validate the Mexican American religious experience.

NOTES

- ¹ Alberto L. Pulido, "Mexicanos and Religion: Understanding Ethnic Relations in the American Catholic Church." Paper presented at the National Association for Ethnic Studies, California State Polytechnic University, March 8, 1991; Alberto L. Pulido, "Race Relations in the American Catholic Church: An Historical and Sociological Analysis of Mexican American Catholics," (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1989), 153-56.
- ² Mexican American Catholicism is described as "... an active process, incorporating relationships that are constantly changing through time." E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1963), 9; Also see: Theda Skocpol, "Emerging Agendas and Recurrent Strategies in Historical Sociology," in *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology*, ed. Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 368-69.
- ³ Popular religion or *religiosidad popular*, is a racial or ethnic group's collective interpretation of the sacred. It is an integrative world-view that includes all dimensions of life: magical, symbolic, imaginative, mystical, farcical, theatrical, political, and communal. Ricardo Ramirez, C.S.B., *Faith Expressions of Hispanics in the Southwest* (San Antonio: Mexican American Cultural Center, 1990), 6-7.
- ⁴ David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 79. *La Hermandad* is a lay brotherhood introduced into New Mexico from Southern Mexico or Guatemala, during the 18th century. Unfortunately, much that has been written on the brotherhood focuses on its annual practice of corporal penance. Francis Leon Swadesh, *Los Primeros Pobladores: Hispanic Americans of the Ute Frontier* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 1974), 74-5; Fray Angelico Chávez, *But Time and Chance: The Story of Padre Martinez of Taos, 1793-1867* (Santa Fe: Sunstone, 1981), 47; Also see: Marta Weigle, *Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood: The Penitentes of the Southwest* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1976); José A. Hernandez, *Mutual Aid for Survival: The Case of the Mexican American* (Malabar: Robert E. Krieger, 1983), Chapter 1; Paul Kutsche and Dennis Gallegos, "Community

Functions of the Confradía de Nuestro Jesús Nazareno," in *The Survival of the Spanish American Villages*, ed. Paul Kutsche (Colorado Springs: The Research Committee, 1979), 91-98; Luciano C. Hendren, "Daily Life on the Frontier," in *Fronteras: A History of the Latin American Church in the USA Since 1513*, ed. Moises Sandoval (San Antonio: Mexican American Cultural Center, 1983), 133-37

⁵ Hendren, 134; Barnabas C. Diekemper, "The Catholic Church in the Shadows: The Southwestern United States During the Mexican Period," *Journal of the American West*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (April 1985): 46-55.

⁶ Moises Sandoval, *On the Move: A History of the Hispanic Church in the United States* (New York: Orbis, 1990), 21-2.

⁷ José Roberto Juárez, "La Iglesia Católica y el Chicano en Sud Texas: 1836-1911," *Aztlán*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (Fall 1974), 219. Note: Father Timon did not begin his journey until January 2, 1839.

⁸ It is important to note that these San Antonian representatives were two men who did not have the *tejano's* best interest in mind when describing the Mexicans of this region. The representatives were Juan Seguin and José Antonio Navarro. There was political tension between de la Garza, Seguin, and Navarro, since Padre De la Garza was a delegate to the state legislature and the national congress. He was labeled a "political enemy" by Seguin and Navarro. Juárez, 219-220.

⁹ Juárez, 219.

¹⁰ Ricardo Santos, "The Age of Turmoil," in *Fronteras: A History of the Latin American Church in the USA since 1513*, ed. M. Sandoval (San Antonio: Mexican American Cultural Center, 1983), 161.

¹¹ Santos, 161-62. On July 16, 1841, Pope Gregory XVI named John Marie Odin bishop of the Vicariate Apostolic of Texas, and on March 6, 1842, Odin was consecrated Bishop of Texas, severing all ties with Mexico and the Diocese of Nuevo León.

¹² Juárez, 227-29.

¹³ Juárez, 229.

¹⁴ Juárez, 234-41.

¹⁵ Coping strategies are a response to structurally imposed demands placed upon individuals or groups. The goal is to develop active strategies that attempt to alter or restructure these demands. See: Algea D. Harrison and Joanne H. Minor, "Inter-role Conflict: Coping Strategies and Satisfaction Among Black Working Wives," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 40 (November 1978): 183-206.

¹⁶ Arnaldo De León, *The Tejano Community 1836-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 138.

¹⁷ De León, 153.

¹⁸ Mexican independence brought about a sharp decline in Spanish religious clergy along the Mexican frontier. According to the Ministro de Justicia y Negocios Eclesiasticos, there were 4,229 clerics in 1810, compared to only 2,282 by 1831. According to Santos, the decline in clergy is attributed to the following: 1) 200

priests were said to have been executed by the Spanish royalists during the course of the war, 2) 300 Spanish-born priests returned to Spain, and 3) the remaining 1,447 were said to have died of "various causes." Santos, 159. By 1828, nearly half of the frontier parishes lacked resident priests, only a limited number of clergy were scattered throughout the northern frontier by 1846. There were no priests in present-day Arizona, five in Alta California, and a total of eleven priests in New Mexico. These parishes were considered undesirable by priests due to the isolation, hardship, danger, and low salaries. Additional factors include: 1) the competition with other careers for young Mexican men, 2) lack of Mexican bishops to ordain new priests, and 3) lack of religious institutions to provide seminary training. Weber, 71-74; Also see: Juan Romero, *Reluctant Dawn: Historia Del Padre A.J. Martinez, Cura De Taos* (San Antonio: Mexican American Cultural Center, 1976), 11. In addition, prelates were also scarce along the northern frontier. Neither Mexican Catholics in Texas or Arizona saw a bishop set foot in their regions throughout the entire Mexican period of the Southwest, reinforcing the emergence of popular religiosity in the Mexican Catholic community. Weber, 71-74.

¹⁹ Juárez, 223-24.

²⁰ Diekemper, 48. See: Mary Xavier Holyworthy, *Father Jaillet: Saddlebag Priest of the Nueces* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones 1948), 45-48, for examples from the Fort Stockton and Fort Davis regions.

²¹ Diekemper, 48.

²² This nameless person stepped-in as religious leader when the local priest, Fray José Antonio Díaz de León was killed in a skirmish near Big Sandy Creek on November 4, 1834. Juárez describes this Mexican layman as an "alcoholic beadle" who performed a "parody" of the Catholic mass. Juárez, 219.

²³ For example, Jean Marie Odin was supportive and impressed with the 1841 Our Lady of Guadalupe celebration in San Antonio, Texas. He had "...seen few processions more edifying." Timothy M. Matovina, "Our Lady of Guadalupe Celebrations in San Antonio, Texas, 1840-1841," *Journal of U.S. Hispanic/Latino Theology*, (forthcoming), 1.

²⁴ This is due to the following: 1) The French clergy did not understand Mexican Catholicism, and 2) The strong anti-Mexican sentiments held by Anglos impacted tremendously on the views of the clergy. With Roman Catholics representing the minority in Texas, the French clergy had to pledge their allegiance to this newly acquired American territory, and therefore, could not embrace the Mexican worldview. In addition, they had to look to the Anglo as their new neophyte who now controlled the economic and political arenas of this new society. Juárez, 220-22, 245.

²⁵ A community of memory is one that does not forget its past. It is involved in retelling its story, and in so doing, offers examples of the men and women who have embodied and exemplified the meaning of real community. This is an important function of the religious experience in the Mexican American commu-

nity. See: Robert Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven M. Tipton, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 153.

²⁶ Romero, *Reluctant Dawn*, 7; Chávez, 23-24.

²⁷ Chávez, 43-50.

²⁸ Romero, 28.

²⁹ Romero, 2.

³⁰ Romero, 2.

³¹ Romero, 2. Note: New Mexicans, in general, were opposed to tithing on practical grounds that had little to do with the spiritual authority of the church. They argued that these monies only served to enrich the collectors, and claimed that the money did not remain in the province. Weber, 75.

³² Romero, 29.

³³ Hendren, 202.

³⁴ Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest: 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford).

³⁵ Romero, 30.

³⁶ Romero, 31-32.

³⁷ Although Padre Ortiz was the younger brother of Padre Martínez' dear friend, the Vicar Juan Felipe, the duties of Padre Ortiz involved an implementation of diocesan tithing policies. Romero, 33.

³⁸ In particular, see the work of Fray Angelico Chávez, 1981; and Fray Angelico Chávez, *Tres Macho-He Said: Padre Gallegos of Albuquerque, New Mexico's First Congressman* (Santa Fe: William Gannon, 1985). Both works offer a revisionist interpretation of New Mexican Catholic history.

³⁹ Paul Horgan, *Lamy of Santa Fe* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1975), 92.

⁴⁰ Horgan, 92.

⁴¹ Horgan, 92.

⁴² Hendren, 197.

⁴³ Swadesh, 76.

⁴⁴ Hernandez, 21.

⁴⁵ Patrick McNamara, "Dynamics of the Catholic Church," in *The Mexican American People*, ed. Leo Grebler, et al. (New York: Free Press, 1970), 449.

⁴⁶ Alberto L. Pulido, "The Religious Dimension of Mexican Americans" in *A History of the Mexican American People*, eds. Julian Samora and Patricia Vandel Simon (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 1993), 223-34.

- ⁴⁷ Aldon D. Morris offers an excellent description of Black religious traditions and their relation to social movements in *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1984).
- ⁴⁸ See Alberto L. Pulido, "Are You an Emissary of Jesus Christ?: Justice, the Catholic Church and the Chicano Movement." in *Explorations in Ethnic Studies*, Vol.14 (January 1991), 17-34.
- ⁴⁹ Existing research reveals that the religious behavior of ethnic minorities is clearly distinct from the established patterns of institutional religion. Bradford P. Kenny, Ronald E. Cromwell, C. Edwin Vaughan, "Identifying the Socio-Contextual Forms of Religiosity Among Urban Minority Group Members," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 16 (1977), 237-44.
- ⁵⁰ Numerous scholars have implemented this perspective when discussing the dynamics of communities and nations in the Third World. See: Emile Sahliyah, *Religious Resurgence and Politics in the Contemporary World* (Albany: University of New York Press, 1990).
- ⁵¹ See: Gloria Inés Loya, P.B.V.M., "The Hispanic Woman: Pasionaria and Pastora of the Hispanic Community," in *Frontiers of Hispanic Theology in the United States*, ed. Allan Figueroa Deck, S.J. (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1992); Susana L. Gallardo, "A Church of Their Own: Chicana/Mexicana Catholics in San Jose." Paper Presented at XXI Annual National Association for Chicano Studies, March 24-27, 1993, San Jose, California. The ground-breaking work on what has come to be known as "Mujerista Theology" is Ada María Isasi-Díaz and Yolanda Tarango, *Hispanic Women: Prophetic Voice in the Church* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988).